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502 Perhaps, at first glance, the small range of the Indian's intelligence would impress us, even in the practical field and in the most obvious and simple things. We will verify, for instance, the mistakes they make in navigation, the fact of not knowing how to foresee and, later, how to avoid or to remedy an accident. Perhaps, to present concrete cases, in order to get the water out of a boat, they will not remove a plank that makes the operation difficult; if a riverside tree impedes navigation, they cut it so badly that the passage remains even more difficult, etc. This impression of intellectual obtuseness, nevertheless, will be lessened if we realize that he performs the work with disprejudice and disinterest.

/141/ 3) Fantasy or imagination.

• 154 A faculty highly developed in the native is the imagination. One easily understands why he is like that, since he lacks the control of a more highly developed and educated intelligence, having, on the contrary, a spirit animated by incoherent and even absurd childish legends and beliefs, and living in an environment of majestic and almost crushing solitude. Many of their conversations in the long hours, idle during the day and dull at night, deal with legends, apparitions, and spells. For this reason they always have their imaginations stimulated. Only in this way is it to be explained how they can see in some strange rocks similarities with plants, tools, etc., similarities that, even when warned, we could not perceive. It is enough to mention a rock of the cachoeira de Uaracapá, almost at the mouth of the river Papurí, presented as "a banana tree" and in which we only see one of those common rocks that rise out of the water.

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Their incoherent conversations, their incomplete narrations, denounce someone who supplies his own fantasy and leaves room for the fantasy of the listeners. Sometimes when we want fast and practical information (for example, about a road, a cachoeira, a distance), we ask a native interpreter to ask another. They will talk 10 or 15 minutes between themselves, and at the end of that time our interpreter will say that

/141 cont./

154 521 he does not know, that he does not understand his tribal brother. We understand, then, that from imperfect narrations, in which emphatic gestures and noises from the mouth supply words and ideas, will appear misunderstandings, alteration of the narrator's thought, variation in the reports and in the tales.

154 825 When we manage to get some native to talk to us spontaneously, with intimacy, we verify that this man who seems to us well-balanced, of little impressionability, that alumnus or alumna of the missionary schools, with an appearance of one almost civilized, not only has a head burdened with so many exotic legends and strange beliefs, but he even hears and sees with impressive frequency apparitions, voices, words, mysterious sayings. It surprises us at times to hear from the lips of young men and women, with many years of contact with civilization, perhaps even of life in cities such as Manaus, the strangest tales of visions that they had, in full daylight, in their hut or in the clearing, on the road, on a trip: voices, sayings that they heard, unbelievable events, fabulous or legendary, that they are sure of having witnessed, giving us place, time, names of persons (for example, that they saw Wïx'ti, Boraró, etc.; persons who have changed, or who periodically change, into /142/ animal, anta, piraboto /dolphin/, who spend days, weeks, and even months in the depths of the water, etc.) (6).

6. We have been consulted by young men and women who have been through the Mission schools and who asked us with all conviction: -- "How is it possible for people to turn into a dolphin?" "to turn into an anta?" Patrícia Vasconcelos, for example, in October of 1955 told us the following as a fact about which she has absolute certainty. So-and-So of the Taryana tribe, from the povoado of Ararípirá (Uaupés) and former student of the Mission of Iauareté, married a Tukano youth who has already worked several times in Taracuá and

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*[192]

/142 cont./

/footnote 6 cont./ other Missionary centers. Another young man wanted to have her as his wife and, in revenge, one time while walking through the forest with her husband (this around 1952), gave him a leaf of pirá-yawára-pûrî (plant of the dolphin, Patricia explained to us) to touch. One day "the husband became different," "he became like a dolphin" (that is, breathing like the dolphin does on top of the water), and he finally dove into the Rio Negro there in Tapurucuara (formerly S. Isabel). He stayed in the water a whole day. The dolphins pushed him toward the land, and he "became a person" again. Several times "he has tumed into a dolphin." The wife of the unhappy young man herself is the one who told her these episodes, and she cries a great deal because of this misfortune.

829 On one side, the reserve of the native before the civilized, because he knows that the latter does not understand him or believe in such tales, and perhaps will even scold or ridicule him, and, on the other side, the desire to seem civilized will make him remain silent about all this to the "white" who travels among them, in order that he will not notice this trait of the psychology of the Indian.

154 Perhaps it will not be an exaggeration to present as a general trait of the native psychology this superexcitability of the fantasy. Maybe one should even qualify it as confused and establish it as a deviation from normality, if we make a comparison with that of the civilized.

/142 cont./

• 154 We tend to believe that the imagination of the man from these forests, listening to the narration of some of his legends, starts reconstructing and reliving it, enriching it with scenes and details, in proportion to the incoherence and the omissions of the narrator. Even more, we have the conviction that in some cases an image or scene (desired or hated) that passed through the imagination of the Indian ends up by being transformed into a reality for him; the imagined is converted by him into the real, into the true. Thus we have explained, for example, how reports and information without any foundation arise (with such frequency that one does not even take them into account), and which the events themselves come to belie (7).

7. Here are some examples of this exaggerated impressionability or excitability of the Indian, and of how they manage to convince themselves of the reality of a mere fancy. Nor does this cause surprise among students of psychology and parapsychical phenomena.

The Mission launches that bring supplies to the several centers travel periodically. It is certain that their noise can be perceived at a great distance, thanks to the silence of the solitude and the direction /the footnote is continued on the next page in the original text/ of the wind. They not only hear the noise when there is no launch on the way, but they assert that indeed it is in a specific locality, or even that it was left there overnight by some native who was navigating during the night. We verified one of these cases in June of 1956. Coming from Iauareté, as we were arriving in Urubucuara the Indians of the locality informed us that the launch had already arrived two days ago in Taracuá, where an Indian (from the povoado Cigarro), who

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/footnote 7 cont./ had come from Taracuá the night before, had seen it. In reality there was no launch at all in Taracuá; the first one, coming from S. Gabriel, appeared three days after our arrival in Taracuá.

Cf. also Koch Grünberg's information about the noise of the Jurupari in Ipanoré (VII, 4, e (2 a) /see p. 508/).

We found ourselves in Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié) in August of 1956. The local sanitary conditions were good, but the sailors from the launch alarmed the population with news of cases of whooping cough and measles in Taracuá (about 300 kilometers away). Then there appeared the news, without any foundation, that the Director of a third missionary center, Iauareté, had written to the one at Pari for him to send the boarding-school children back to their homes. Now that missionary to whom the receipt and the reading of the imaginary letter (in the absence of the Director at Pari) were attributed knew nothing about it. In turn, the boarding-school girls of the Mission (a little over one hundred), talking to one of the Irmãs Professôras /Teacher Sisters/, informed her: "As soon as the Director of the Mission arrives from his trip, the students, boys and girls, will be sent to their povoados." -- "How did you find this out?" asks the Irmã. -- The girls answer her immediately: -- "It was the Irmã Diretora /Sister Director/ who gave the information." Now the Irmã Diretora of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ not only had not spoken to anyone about this subject, but she had not even thought about it.

and nevertheless they are believed every time they appear.

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shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza.

The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not [illegible]re whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* i[illegible] has inherent qualities as a love charm—a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly—or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihí*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality.

A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party roils up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. If emotional catharsis is a "function"

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of the *unkúndye* then it should be said that it is the women who supply the charge that explodes the emotions and issues into the open. Because they are so much in the background during everyday life, compartmentalized in the manioc garden as in the house itself, women are strongly stimulated by the social heterogeneity of the *unkúndye* as by the inherent excitement of drinking, dancing, noise, and close body contact. The women's responsiveness seems to be spontaneous from the very beginning of the drinking party, whereas the men groom their emotions by stages, until at the end they are responding with a spontaneity of their own. The spontaneous emotional excitement of the women feeds into the emotional pool, so to speak, of the whole *unkúndye*. During the great mourning festival with its ritual eroticism this counterplay of men and their formal ceremoniousness and women and their emotional spontaneity leads finally to a unified response that is ceremony deeply charged with feeling. At the mourning ceremony this juxtaposition of male and female roles is very evident. And it is because of my observation of the mourning ceremonies that I have been led to see each drinking party in a similar fashion. In short, for the men the drinking party is collective and ritualistic; for the women it is individual and personal. In the end, these two roles are fused so that the aim of strong feeling within a formal setting is achieved. Perhaps it would be better to say overachieved, since the jealous quarrels that women provoke are sometimes serious, splitting sibs from one another and antagonizing close sibmates.

Every drinking party that I ever attended ended in a quarrel. All quarrels were sexual, either provoked directly by jealousy or by disparaging remarks about a man's virility. The quarrels may lead to minor violence and may have no consequences. Sometimes, however, they stir up unexpectedly deep layers of feeling. A fresh affront recalls earlier offenses. These are aired. Before long the disputants have brought out a tangle of charges and countercharges revealing long smoldering issues. Men start a quarrel over an accusation of adultery. One man then comments that the father of the other had once said that he would not mind if his, the complainant's, sib were to die out. It is a remark of this nature that suddenly and chillingly transforms a simple quarrel into a later suspicion and then open accusation of sorcery, should someone sicken on either side.

The quarreling of men sounds more violent than it really is. If they are content to merely pummel one another with their fists there is little interference except that the women fret anxiously. Should they reach for dangerous weapons they are restrained and content

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themselves with an exchange of vituperation. Brothers will defend 578
one another, as well as sibmates, so that a quarrel is difficult [593]
to isolate. The men listen to the vituperation and, far from [614]
regarding what is said as meaningless drunken chatter, draw
implications that may involve them. What began as a quarrel be-
tween only two men over one man's wife can become a maloca-wide
brawl. Then the sibs taunt one another, each reviling the other's [614]
weaknesses and calling attention to its own strength. It may all [622]
come to nothing. A diplomatic elder calms tempers; the headmen
remember their obligations to preserve the peace at drinking parties.
Some disputants have enough sense of humor to laugh. It can all [154]
blow over quickly and will then have served as another way in which
feelings are lightened, provided the sinister specter of sorcery has
not been drawn in.

The following is an example of a quarrel at a drinking party. A 574
man began to beat his wife because she was dancing too often with 578
the same man. The latter remonstrated and soon he and the angry 593
husband came to blows. The bystanders remarked that the husband's
jealousy was unwarranted. Encouraged by these remarks, the
woman's father got angry and attacked his son-in-law with his fists.
The son-in-law did not defend himself, whereupon the old man
calmed down and proceeded to explain to those present that his
daughter's conduct was altogether proper. At this point the wife
became enraged, and flinging herself upon her now pacified husband,
pummeled him soundly on the back with her fists. Since he did not
strike back her fury subsided and this incident blew over.

However, another young man who had been witnessing this vio- 574
lent flurry began in a tearful voice to inform his audience that his 578
wife was having an affair with a phratry mate of his. He named the [837]
woman's lover, who was present, but for the moment said nothing.
The accused's father, however, jumped quickly to his son's defense,
shouting that the charges against his son were false. The jealous
husband turned upon the old man and shouted at him angrily, "You
are already an old man. It is time you were dead!" At this, the ac-
cused man rushed forward, livid with fury. In a hoarse voice he
shouted to the assembly, "Did you hear? He is planning to kill my
father." But the jealous husband was already beyond calming down.
Instead he shouted back that the sib of the accused adulterer was
weak and few in numbers, whereas his own sib was strong. With
these ominous remarks this incident closed, for the time being. All
felt that the outraged husband had gone too far. No further remarks

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534 for this contradiction. One is that different Ancients are represented
114 at different times. This possibility, though, is one that was never
769 mentioned to me. The origin myth of mourning, it should be noted,
[773] refers to *Xudjiko* only. The other is the possibility of error, since Koch-Grünberg also labeled a trumpet used in initiation ceremonies as *Uménahonkü*. *Oýne* and initiation trumpets are never the same.

765 The dances, rituals, and dramatic representations of these first
786 three days range over a variety of themes, but all have the common
[154] purpose of transforming grief and anger to joy. In keeping with the characteristic pattern of Cubeo ritual that begins slowly and solemnly and ends in frenzied disorder, the first phases of the *óyne* also start from the dark mood of grief and anger and end in a sexual
[536] orgy. This first part of the *óyne*, in which the emphasis is upon transformation of feeling, is largely dramatic. The second part of the *óyne*, that lasts from late afternoon until the dawn of the following day, carries forward the theme of emotional transformation, ending in fact in true sexual license, when men are privileged to copulate
765 with their sib and phratry brothers' wives. Its main themes, however,
266 are religious and magical, including the aforementioned expulsion
[775] of the spirit of the dead as well as the magical absorption of the sub-
[614] stance of the deceased into the body of the sib. The latter is presumably accomplished by pounding the exhumed limb bones of the deceased into a powder and mixing them with chicha, which the men of the sib drink.

765 The women are weepers and have, in the main, a passive ritual
562 role. They huddle together with their nursing infants in the rear half of the house that for the occasion has been partitioned with a six-foot-high fence of poles and leaves set so as to form at the center an overlapping slit opening. The women are not allowed to see what is going on in the male section, while the slit opening allows the men to dance freely in and out of the women's section. Stimulated by masculine-initiated activity, the women burst into fits of ritual-
[786] ized weeping, their only active ritual role. Their proper role is to be acted upon, and to be brought to a point of ritualized sexual excitement so that they can be engaged in ritual and simulated coitus.

53 The masked dancers represent the nonhuman world of beings, the
765 beneficent and malevolent, the threatening and the ludicrous, as
[776] well as the neutral creatures. Their songs (*kwimalwü*) are mournful and indicate grief for the deceased, but their dances and dramatic representations are of their own world. Each mask generally has its own song and characteristic dance, although the connection between mask, dance, and song is not rigidly kept. As the ceremony reaches

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able to carry through what are abrupt and violent gestures of mourning without disturbing the infant's feeding. In the midst of what seems to be an uncontrolled paroxysm of grief the mother adjusts her infant to a more comfortable position. The infants seem undisturbed. The women are wandering mourners, seeking out new partners with whom they exchange shouts until, with their voices hoarse and cracked, they crouch down together and weep.

FORMAL RITUALISTIC ELEMENTS

The dramatization of emotion is, I believe, the central theme of the *óyne*, as it is, indeed, the central theme of all Cubeo ceremonials. In the *óyne*, the dramatization of emotion is conducted most directly in the sexual interplay between men and women and in the variety of enactments, as in a pageant, of scenes of emotional significance. Dramatization is never the most direct evocation of emotion; it occurs only in the *óyne*, which of all Cubeo ceremonials demands the fullest emotional orchestration. In other ceremonies emotionality is either generalized, in the sense that one acquires a special lift from drink, narcotics, and dance, or else the emotional range is more limited, as in the ancestral cult initiation. The *óyne* provides for many modes of emotional stimulation. A secondary mode is physiological stimulation, which relies upon chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihi*. On physiological stimulation I have only to add the note that in the *óyne* indulgence is greater and the state of frenzied excitement is sought quickly.

Chicha consumption at the *óyne* is prodigious. Months of labor go to the preparation of manioc mash, which is then allowed to ferment fully in combination with sugar cane extract. Men eat little or nothing during the three days of the *óyne*. They are nourished on chicha and blunt their hunger and fatigue with coca. The *Hehénewa* also bought *aguardiente* for guests who could not get drunk on chicha quickly enough.

The traditional Cubeo attitude toward drink and intoxication is religious, not secular. They do not drink for mere pleasure or to overcome anxiety. Secular drinking is for them distasteful, and it is rare to see an Indian drunk except at a ceremony. In the white settlement of Mitú it is the white man who is drunk and the sober Indian who watches him with amazement. Intoxication is a sacred state. In the *unkúndye*, drinking leads from passivity to quarreling. In the *óyne* the emotions unleashed by intoxication are channeled more directly.

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The spirits of the dead remain bound to the phratric system. All the dead of the sibs on a river are joined together. While the individual spirit has his sib identity, the sibs do not exist in the afterlife as social entities. The *habóküü* of the dead is *Mavítcikori*, grandson of *Djurédo*, an Ancient of the *Órobawa* and of other high-ranking sibs such as the *Hehénewa*, who was the first headman at Uaracapuri. However, the Cubeo have no great interest in speculating about the life of the spirits of the dead, since, except for the Ancients, they have no formal relationship with them. With the dead, the point is to break the bonds, and for this reason alone Cubeo speculation about the spirits of the dead is at best a moderate one. I have already related the story of the woman who, having died and been buried, returned to her husband and pleaded with him to take her back. It is said that if the husband had accepted her she would really have come to life, but that because he drove her away people who die remain dead.

In Freudian theory, fear of the dead is a projection of ambivalent feelings toward the living. From this point of view one would have to assume, most incorrectly, that the Cubeo are markedly lacking in the ambivalences of love and hate. The Cubeo attitude of neutrality toward the spirits of the dead is due rather to the fact that they attribute almost all misfortune to active human agency. If one is to look for evidences of ambivalence in Cubeo feelings toward kin the proper source is in the imputation of sorcery and not in the attitudes toward ghosts.

THE CONCEPT OF POWER

An important concern of all instrumental, as distinct from ethical, religions is power, the grasp of power and its control and manipulation. Power, to be sure, is valued for its direct application to common human interests in food, safety, and the overcoming of enemies, to name but a few, but it would be rash to underestimate the sheer attractiveness of power acquired and power used for its own sake. In Cubeo religious thought, too, power is both instrumental and compelling in its own right. In keeping with the moderate role of power in social and political life, however, the power theme in religion is a muted one. The Cubeo do not attribute to anyone, man or supernatural being, grandiose powers. If anything, the Cubeo are rather conscious of the limitations of power. We have seen this in how little power they attribute to the Ancients. *Kúwai* is a more telling illustration of the point, for this being ordinarily fails when he is truly manipulating power, while his successes are in the ordinary relations

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Since the Cubeo lack status rivalry the explanation must be sought in subinstitutional relationships. The nature of food pathology illustrates one form of psychic conflict that disturbs the relationship of sibmates. In incidents of food pathology the subject was often deprived of a father, a particularized and personal tie, and displayed his resentment in a calculatedly resentful way. It may be said generally of the Cubeo that they hold to exceptionally high standards of personal warmth. When these standards are not met, as often in practice they cannot be, the people are unduly disturbed. Thus, it is not difficult for a man to feel that a brother has let him down and so seek vengeance in adultery. In a more general vein, it can be said that the solidarity of the sib has its natural psychological limts. Adultery, theft, and nonsharing are in Cubeo culture the most common manifestations of such discord. That fraternal discord may be more than superficial would be indicated by the accusations of sorcery that sometimes flash between brothers.

Unlike the phratry, the sibs have an officer whose job it is to deal with discord. The headman has no authority, but he has tact and the prestige of office. His difficulty is that since he cannot allocate punishments, assess injuries, and award compensation, he must deal only with the intangible and volatile aspects of mood. He can either soothe outraged feelings or exacerbate them, smooth over the difficulty or force a showdown and the departure of the culprit. The function of public opinion in an intrasib dispute is essentially to ratify a determination to expel a culprit. The Cubeo will prefer to overlook offenses within the sib as much as possible. But when the issue is out in the open the most likely way for equilibrium to be restored is for someone to leave. The departure of an offender is not an example of fission. When feelings have cooled he will return. Sib fission is exemplified by the Independents and the Satellites, composed of sib sections who are simply dissatisfied with the headman or with their fellows. Thus fission contributes to equilibrium by draining away the malcontents. Curiously, while the departure of the disaffected removes an immediate cause of potential stress, it leaves in its wake another form of stress in the form of a more diffuse sentiment of dismay that all is not well with the sib. The headman is well equipped to deal with this more generalized feeling, however.

The normal point of cleavage in the sib is the small group of blood brothers. True brothers form the most solid of all Cubeo linkages. The fraternal group is truly the core of Cubeo social structure. Yet this innermost orbit is far from indestructible. The Vaupés region is spotted with social "ions," free-floating men who, with their wives